l: Karsten--274 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 627, 602 (1928-29)

"Though, as we have seen, among the Jibaros blood-revenge takes place with regard to members of the same sub-tribe, this is not so when a crime is committed within the family. Among these Indians it sometimes occurs that a man kills his brother, if the latter, for instance, has seduced his wife or bewitched one of his children. But in this case blood-revenge is not generally taken, inasmuch as the natural avengers--that is, the father and the remaining brothers--abstain from carrying it out. 'It is enough that one member of our family has died,' they say, 'why should we deprive ourselves of one more?' The slayer is consequently pardoned. The absence of blood-revenge in a case like this is due to the natural sympathy which the avengers feel for the slayer, as well as to the consideration that by killing him they would only harm themselves, by weakening the power and influence of the family."

"When a man has killed an opponent he takes his head as soon as circumstances permit. It is customary with the Jivaros that a man, when struck, even though not severely wounded, will fall to the ground. Thus it frequently happens that the severing of the head is begun while the man is still alive. The removal of the head is usually accomplished with the lance blade. The skin is cut low on the chest in a V-shape just above the nipples and is peeled up until the lower part of the neck is exposed. The neck is severed, cutting through to the bone, and the head is separated from the body by cutting between two of the neck vertebrae.[56]

If the women of the defending party are able to conceal the body of a man who has been killed they do so quickly in order that his head may not be taken. When the battle is fairly equal they are sometimes able to do this.

During the fight a man is always exceedingly careful not to kill any of his blood relatives, who are likely to be present among the two combating forces if they live in the same region. The heads of women killed are taken, but not those of small children, their bodies merely being thrown aside.

As soon as the fight is over, assuming that the attacking party has been victorious, the curaka calls his men together for a discussion to decide which of the victims are relatives of the attacking party. Any member who has had a relative killed points him out. These are set aside, as tsantsas are not made from their heads out of courtesy to their relatives in the attacking force. During the heat of the fight, if someone notices

that a relative of his has been killed, he shouts to the victor: 'Do not take his head! That is a relative of mine!' However, any man who has killed an opponent and has not been able to take his head for this reason is entitled to make a tsantsa of a sloth's head, as will be described later. Captured women are divided among the successful warriors, the curaka taking his choice first.

All this having been decided upon, the victorious party mill around, shouting, and wrecking everything inside the house. They break the earthenware, kill the dogs, and rush about sticking their lances in the ground where they think the dead have been buried. (71) Any loot of value is taken. They then burn the house and uproot the plants in the garden. Meanwhile those who have taken heads string them on bark strips, wrap them in leaves or place them in a basket to be carried on their backs. The party is then ready to return home."

"71. The custom of burying the dead in the houses has resulted from missionary influence in some regions."

23: Turner--58 (No date) 1944 Jivaro
116, 727, 602

"Mummified animal heads, usually of monkeys or sloths, are sometimes seen in collections. Of these the sloth heads are likely to be genuine. The Jibaros are elaborately careful not to take the head of a victim who is related to the slayer, however long adopted into the enemy band. In such cases, as also when a vigorous resistance prevents the securing of an unrelated victim's head, the slayer may at some later date take the head of a sloth (Choloepus didactylus) and prepare a token trophy, called uñushi. Generally similar ritual procedure accompanies the preparation of the uñushi. Finished trophies display the lip-fringe and suspending cord seen in tsantsas, but the degree of reduction is proportionally less. Some other animals may be similarly treated when one of their number is supposed to have caused the death of a Jibaro.

Stirling persuaded a Yaupe Jibaro to reduce the head of a monkey, but this was done without ritual and simply as a demonstration of the shrinking technique. Preserved monkeys' heads seen by the writer have certain features in common with the counterfeit tsantsas and it is to be doubted whether they are of Jibaro origin. Even where this should be the case they probably represent nothing more than purely commercial examples of Indian taxidermy."

31: Danielsson--102 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571, 602, 582

"In our so-called civilized societies the correlations between the attraction-and-repulsion-patterns and the more formal patterns, such as familial relationships, economic status, occupation, club membership, etc., have to be taken into consideration. In the Jibaro society there are no formal patterns except the familial pattern. How the Jibaros designate familial relationship is shown on Chart I. The Jibaro family is patripotestal. The children use, for instance, the same word, aparu, for their biological father as well as for their paternal uncles. No parallel exists to this on the mother's side. The parents use the same word, nauanda, both for the daughters and the daughters-in-law. For the son-in-law, however, another term, aweru, is used than for the son, uchi. A marriage between cousins on the father's side or between a paternal uncle and his niece is regarded as incest, but on the mother's side marriages of these types are regarded as natural."

"As could be expected the blood relationship is highly correlated with attraction.(9) Table V shows the interaction within each family house, in all the three geographical groups, computed after the same formula used on page eleven:

$$\frac{\text{total choices made} \times 100}{N^2 - N}$$

TABLE V

Interaction Within Each Family House

Patuca family no.	Percentage	Yurupaza family no.	Percentage	Yaupi family no.	Percentage
I	100.00%	I	100.00%	I	100.00%
II	66.66%	II	100.00%	II	92.22%
III	100.00%	III	100.00%	III	100.00%
IV	100.00%	IV	33.33%	IV	100.00%
V	100.00%	V	100.00%	V	100.00%
VI	100.00%			VI	100.00%

"9. Irwin T. Sanders: 'Sociometric Work with a Bulgarian Woodcutting Group', Sociometry, Vol. II, 1939."

In all the groups not showing a 100% interaction (Patuca II, Yurupaza IV, Yaupi II) the reason seemed to be a recent incorporation into the family group of a son-in-law (among the Jibaros the son-in-law frequently [103] moves over to the house of the father-in-law). In these cases (II8C among B-members in Patuca II, IV13B among C-members in Yurupaza IV, and 116A among B-members in Yaupi II) (see Charts II, IV and VI) the arrival of the new-comer is resented by some of the old members of the family house."

31: Danielsson--103 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571, 602

"Table VI shows the interaction between all persons related by birth, computed by the same formula as in the last case.

TABLE VI

Interaction Between Persons Related by Birth

Patuca relationship	Percentage	Yurupaza relationship	Percentage	Yaupi relationship	Percentage
A	100.00%	A	92.88%	A	93.05%
B	100.00%	B	100.00%	B	100.00%
C	90.00%	C	85.71%	C	90.50%
D	100.00%	D	100.00%	D	83.33%
E	100.00%				

The figures seem to be somewhat lower than in the previous case, but any definite conclusions are of course impossible to draw from such limited material. (It should be noted that the letters repeated for each geographical group have no reference to one another. Thus the members from the A-group in Patuca are not related to the members of the A-groups in Yurupaza or Yaupi)."

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356 leak. Occasionally, such leakage does not occur significantly
362 until the ninth year of occupancy.

If structural decay alone forces abandonment of a house,
342 the new one is constructed sometimes only fifty to a hun-
961 dred yards away. More frequently, however, poor hunting conditions necessitate the construction of the new structure
[224] two or three miles distant. Sometimes the scarcity of game requires a move to a greater distance, ten miles or more. In
[628] the not infrequent cases when a man and his family flee the neighborhood to escape assassination attempts, the new dwelling may be erected forty to eighty miles from the previous
[768] site. The death of the male head of the household is also cause for abandonment.

342 Houses are constructed by the men. While most of the
462 building work technically could be done by the dwelling owner himself, he is generally helped by one or two close
476 male relatives living nearby. The transportation and erection
• 602 of the main house posts are the only tasks requiring a larger crew. For this effort, the owner invites about half a dozen male neighbors to help him.

342 Posts, beams, roof and walls are all lashed firmly together
554 with strips of inner tree bark. Proceeding painstakingly, a man usually constructs a large and impressive structure capable of withstanding not only the natural elements and enemy attack, but also critical evaluation by his neighbors. The size and quality of a man's house is regarded as a serious indication of his personal "power," *kakarma*.

595 A family averaging only about nine persons typically occu-
574 pies these rather large houses. While to a casual observer the
535 size of the house might seem excessive in terms of everyday needs, the large floor space is deemed essential for hosting visitors, who are often guests coming to drink and dance. Since dancing is never done outdoors, where persons would

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593 met, they fought. Finally, Alaŋá gave his sister to Tukupí.
605 Thereafter, when Alaŋá beat Tukupí's sister, Tukupí beat Alaŋá's sister.

Tukupí said, "Before, when you beat my sister, I went to fight you. But now that you have given me your sister, I will beat her instead."

So now everything is friendly between Tukupí and Alaŋa.

605 Joking relationships are restricted to cross-cousins, with emphasis on humor between cross-cousins of the opposite sex, who frequently banter flirtatiously with each other. The jokes are often explicit sexual challenges, even between persons married to others and, when engaged in by elderly cross-cousins, are often the occasion for general mirth in the household. The Jívaro explain that they cannot joke with other relatives because of their "respect" for them. The highest degree of such respect is shown by a man to his mother-in-law, from whom he averts his eyes when speaking with her. For a man to look directly into the eyes of a woman, even in conversation, is considered flirtatious behavior, and for him to look into the eyes of another man is considered a hostile act.

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602 Beyond the polygynous nuclear family, the basic Jívaro kin group is a personal bilateral kindred with a slight patrilineal tendency. The personal bilateral kindred, however, should not even be referred to as a "group," for as Murdock has noted,[2] a person shares an identical kindred only with his siblings and even then only before marriage. Since each person has a different kindred, his personal kin rights and obligations can coincide only with those of siblings of the same sex. Classification of kinsmen is by degrees of distance from one's self (*ego*), rather than in terms of membership or non-

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membership in some sort of corporate unit, as is commonly found in unilineal descent societies. The Jívaro thus possess the most insecure of the basic types of kinship systems, and lack clearly defined descent groups which can protect their members from outside enemies and which can settle disputes among relatives.

The Jívaro version of the kindred seems even more insecure than most for the individual, for in disputes any serious reckoning of kinship is a source of considerable confusion, involving disagreements over degree of relatedness, even in the case of a single person. In any serious discussion of kin obligations among the Jívaro, all single-word, or elementary, kin terms of reference have added to them the modifier "true" (*nekás*) or "branch" (*kanú*) to pin down degrees of relationship (see Table 1 and Figure 2 for the elementary kinship terms). In the case of any specific relative, these modifying terms can often be substituted for one another, depending upon the degree of closeness of relationship which the speaker wishes to recognize in a given situation. The only kin always defined as "true" relatives are a person's biological grandparents, parents, siblings, children, cross-cousins, and fathers of his cross-cousins. The only relatives who are always assigned to the "branch" category are affinal kin who, prior to marrying, were not considered by *ego* to be relatives of any degree. Since definition of degree of kinship is thus commonly manipulated at will, a person is often uncertain as to how his relatives will define their obligations and rights in any given dispute. The use of these "true" and "branch" modifiers almost doubles the varieties of relationship distinguished, so that many of the relatives in the kindred are unlikely to be defined as precisely the same, even by two siblings, in any particular crisis.

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601 DaHu, BrDaHu, FaBrSoDaHu, FaSiDaDaHu, MoSiSoDaHu, MoBrDaDaHu, FaBrDaDaHu, FaSiSoDaHu, SiDaHu, MoSiDaDaHu, MoBrSoDaHu *awe* N (*aweči* N; *awetá* N; *antepá* O) *Awe* has replaced *antepă*, the male-speaking term of reference being adopted.

Da, BrDa, FaBrSoDa, FaSiDaDa, MoSiSoDa, MoBrDaDa, BrSoWi, SiDa, FaBrDaDa, FaSiSoDa, FaBrSoSoWi, FaSiDaSoWi, MoSiDaDa, MoBrSoDa, MoSiSoSoWi, MoBrDaSoWi *nawanta* (*makú; makučí*)

SoWi, SiSoWi, FaBrDaSoWi, FaSiSoSoWi, MoSiDaSoWi, MoBrSoSoWi *nahatí* O(*naháturu* O; *makú; aweči* N; *awetá* N) *Nahatí* is beginning to be replaced by *awe*, the male-speaking term of reference being adopted.

Hu *aeš*[ha] (*áeširu*)

Co-wives are normally referred to by the *kai* term.

602 578 601 The utilization of these "true" and "branch" modifiers may be somewhat clarified by a few examples. According to the kinship rules, *ego* is expected to side with a true relative in a dispute with a branch relative of the same elementary category. However, *ego* must often decide at the time which of the two disputants is the "true" one and therefore deserving of his aid. No matter whose side *ego* decides to join, the abandoned party may be expected to accuse him of not living up to his kinship obligations. If *ego* does not join either party in the dispute, then both tend to level that accusation at him.

Similarly, another relative may manipulate the terminology when *ego* requests help from him. *Ego* may request aid from a parallel cousin, for example, saying, "You are my true 'brother' (*nekás yači*) and therefore you must help me in my dispute against this man who is only your branch 'brother-in-law' (*kaná sai*)." If the parallel cousin does not wish to accede to the request, he replies, "I wish I could help you, but

/text continues on p. 103/

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you are mistaken. You are really my branch 'brother' (*kaná yači*), not my true 'brother,' and since this enemy of yours is really my true 'brother-in-law' (*nekás sai*) it would not be right."

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Although often a source of frustration and confusion, this manipulation of defined degree of relationship can serve to save a man's life. When he visits a strange house, the host may subject him to an interrogation regarding the names of his relatives and their degree of relationship to the visitor, pretending a purely friendly interest in the subject. Usually, however, the host really wants to determine whether his visitor is a close relative of any of his enemies. In answering his interrogator, the visitor carefully puts into the "branch" category as many of his relatives as possible, particularly those whom he thinks may be enemies of the host. At the same time, he promotes to the "true" category those of his relatives whom he knows are friendly to the interrogator or the interrogator's relatives. A good memory of kin relationships of both enemies and friends is, of course, essential to this sometimes adroit manipulation of the "true–branch" definitions.

Failure to manipulate kin classification successfully can result in the visitor's food or beer being poisoned or in his being ambushed by the host after he leaves the house. It is not surprising, therefore, that fathers often spend an hour or more before dawn lecturing their sons on the degree of relationship between a variety of enemies and friends in their own and other neighborhoods. Such lectures also include advice on how to avoid dangerous entanglements, how to

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FIGURE 2 (*facing page*)
Kinship Chart. Elementary terms of reference (male speaking)

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get along well with kinsmen, and how to survive in general, as illustrated by this excerpt from such a morning monologue:

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Listen, son, when you grow up, do not enter the house of Ampuša, who is my enemy. When I die, when my daughter is grown, she can marry whom she wants. If her husband is from a distant neighborhood, don't go to visit her. Afterwards, when you have married and I am dead, if you have a daughter, I know that one day the son of my enemy will make peace with you. But don't give him your daughter, or he will kill you. When I die, you have to give your sister to your true [*nekás*] *sai*. Thus you will live in peace and there will be no fighting or anything. If you give her to another man, then when you drink beer and get drunk, that man, although he is married to your sister, can speak to my enemy to plot your death. Thus are they accustomed to kill.

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Then when your daughter is married, never speak harshly to your *awe* [son-in-law] or get mad at him or he will leave your daughter and become your enemy. When one never gets angry with his *awe*, and lives peacefully, the *awe* divides his game, and also his chickens and pigs, with you. Sometimes, when we get old, we cannot build a house. But if we have an *awe*, he will help build it.

[606]

Never beat your wife or get drunk. If some other man sees this happen and talks about it, it will be a shame. If you live well and give your daughter to an *awe*, then the father or brother of this *awe* may come to visit in order to see how you live. If you don't live well together, then the father of this *awe* will say, "This man is bad."

[593]

Also you must tell your daughter, "Obey your husband, supply good food, and do not commit adultery with other men. Otherwise he will surely beat you. And if the family of your husband comes to visit, you have to get up immediately and serve beer and food to the guests. If you don't, then they and many other people will say that you don't get up, even though your husband asks you to do so, and this is bad."

[574]

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that they are not on a hostile mission of stealth. Upon arriving at the house, the visiting enemy is offered beer and food, in keeping with Jívaro etiquette. The host is also honor-bound not to attack anyone visiting him peaceably, at least while the visitor is in the house and its environs. However, secret poisoning of proffered beer is assumed to be common, and the enemy may decline to drink, even though the woman serving it dips her hand into the bowl and sucks it to show that the beer is safe, a standard demonstration in serving all visitors. It is more likely, though, that he will accept the beer to demonstrate his confidence in his own invulnerability.

To avoid having the women or anyone else other than the *kakaram* learn the identity of the intended victim, the visitor pulls his stool close to that of the host and converses in whispers. In his conversation, the visitor acknowledges that he is an enemy of the host, and justifies his request not on the basis of any personal weakness or inadequacy, but because of the need for additional manpower in the expedition. If the *kakaram* has no reservations about killing the particular person discussed, he will almost always accept the invitation to kill. Partially this is due to general factors such as his desire to accumulate *arutam* soul power through killing and to further his prestige, but in this particular kind of situation, his acceptance is also due to his reluctance to lose face with his enemy. A refusal to participate probably would be interpreted as weakness or fear, unless he could give an acceptable excuse in terms of a kinship or friendship bond with the intended victim.

The Jívaro recognize that one of the major motivations for asking a *kakaram* who is an enemy for killing assistance is the hope to shoot him in the back while on the trail. Therefore, if he agrees to participate in a killing expedition with his enemy, he takes the precaution of bringing along at

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441 572 593 of siblings and, in fact, if two brothers happen to be trading partners they will use the "friend" form of address (*awidi*) in preference to that normally used by brothers (*yamadi*). Brothers, fathers, and sons can and often do fight with one another, but it seems to be unthinkable for a man to fight with his "friend." A man is born and married into his personal kindred and it is recognized that he does not necessarily have to like his relatives, but in the case of a trading partner, he is honor-bound to live up to the obligation which he has ritually undertaken. If he failed to do so, he would lose the respect and trust of others to a degree dangerous to his safety.

• [602]

441 628 721 [572] The protection of a visiting "friend" by his host-partner involves constant companionship as a bodyguard and if possible, even concealment of the identity of his visitor. Thus, when a local neighbor happens to drop in while a trading partner's *awigri* is visiting and asks the name of the visitor, the host-partner may simply state, "He is my friend," and thereby avoid giving any additional information, because his partner might have enemies in the local neighborhood. Such a statement is also a declaration that the visitor, being classified as a "friend," is under the host's personal protection.

The safe conduct provided by his *awigri* is absolutely essential when a Jivaro goes to an Achuara neighborhood to trade, because anyone of the alien tribe has a theoretical right to kill him to obtain his head for a trophy. Without the *awigri* institution, well-developed Jivaro-Achuara trade would be impossible. Even with the safe conduct provided by a trading partner, *awigri* are afraid to travel much farther than one or two days' walk. The longer they are on the trail traveling alone and unprotected to visit a partner, the

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626 754 682 [276] [787] [628] [721] bewitchers. With the guilt determined through divination with the aid of a hallucinogenic drug, and the subsequent vengeance probably wreaked on the wrong person (even if one believes in witchcraft deaths), it is clear that the shamanistic beliefs and practices have repercussions which heighten the sense of outrage and injustice that permeates the society and sets household against household. Under these circumstances, Jívaro witchcraft clearly promotes rather than decreases physical violence.

626 [682] [278] Although not believed by the Jívaro to be quite as pervasive an activity as bewitching, assumed poisoning in beer or in food likewise engenders retaliatory action through physical violence, even though, as in the case of witchcraft, the person believed to be guilty is, more likely than not, probably innocent. Under these conditions, then, the relatively clear-cut and consensually approved rules concerning offenses and sanctions regarding human life, sexual relationships, inheritance of women, and other less emphasized areas of dispute, have only limited utility in promoting social harmony and tranquillity.

626 • 602 593 69 Since there is no formal political or kin organization, the Jívaro apply sanctions against alleged violators of the norms purely by means of informal partisan action. The aggrieved party, together with those relatives willing to support him, takes upon himself the responsibility for punishing the person or persons he believes to be guilty of an offense against him or a close member of his family.

The determination of guilt in a specific case and of the proper sanction for a specific offense is a rather individualistic matter, with a significant degree of variability existing in case histories of even a single type of offense. The emphasis in the present description will be on the general pattern of offenses and sanctions, rather than on deviations from the norms.

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684 chete. Ordinarily, the aggrieved party administers the punishment personally while several relatives hold the victim. The slashing is usually done without much care, and sometimes the [836] offender dies, although this result is not intended. In the case of premarital sexual intercourse, the punishment is administered to the girl and her lover by the girl's father. In the [837] case of adultery, a man primarily punishes his wife's lover, and a woman primarily punishes her husband.

684 836 Premarital intercourse is a less serious offense than extramarital. Premarital sexual relations are widespread, and single girls frequently become pregnant. Such affairs usually are looked upon fairly tolerantly by everyone, even by a girl's mother, as long as the girl's father does not discover them in the act. If such a discovery occurs, the father has to punish them in order to avoid becoming the butt of jokes in the neighborhood. The father is expected to slash the scalps of both under such circumstances.

684 837 When a man learns that another has had sexual relations with his wife, he has the right to cut her lover's scalp whether he discovered him in the act or not. Unlike the [593] punishment for murder, this cutting is usually administered [602] immediately by the aggrieved party, accompanied by several [605] of his kinsmen, normally brothers, parallel or cross-cousins, or his father. If the adulterer flees to a distant neighborhood or otherwise prevents them from punishing him, then the aggrieved party may, in his anger, kill the father of the adulterer, or, if he is not living, a brother or cousin (parallel or cross).

Even if the punishers are successful in their slashing of the offender's forehead or scalp, they and their close relatives usually remain angry with the family of the offender and re- [301] fuse to speak to them. After about two years, the offender is [435] also expected to pay the husband a toucan feather headband

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as a "recruiter" to visit other neighborhoods to invite men to join the expedition. The recruiter personally visits every house where he thinks he may find a willing participant. When he arrives in a new neighborhood, he first visits the house of a known friendly relative. The latter acts as his protector and takes him to visit every likely household in the locality. Then, if there are adjacent neighborhoods where the relative has a friendly kinsman but the recruiter does not, the relative may send a son along with him to protect and introduce him to potential recruits. In this manner, a recruiter can canvass a dozen neighborhoods, although generally the number is only half that many. When the recruiter reaches the most distant neighborhood and prepares to return home, he sends a new recruit ahead on the return trail to notify the people of the next neighborhood to prepare for the arrival of the war party. The men of the next neighborhood thus have time to get ready to leave on the expedition, and also the women can prepare food and beer for the arriving group. The other neighborhoods along the route are similarly notified as the expedition progresses. Finally, all members of the war party, normally numbering about thirty or forty, arrive at the house of the *wea*. As each enters the house, he engages in a ritualistic shouting chant (*enermartin*) with the *wea*. During the chanting each man stamps back and forth in turn, thrusting his shotgun in rhythm, as though threatening the other speaker. This chant, which primarily focuses on establishing the identity and demonstrating the supernatural power of the speakers, is also used when complete strangers happen to encounter one another on a trail.[8]

The party may spend two to four days at the house, preparing rations for the trail. On the day of departure, they wake a few hours before dawn, form two lines and perform the chant simultaneously until close to daybreak. Then

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726 they drink from jars of beer placed before them, and the *wea* declares, "I am very hungry. Bring me plenty of fish." This [829] is a metaphorical allusion to the Achuara, who subsist on [226] fish much more than the Jívaro, and to the *tsantsa* which are [251] to be brought back wrapped up in cloth, much as fish are [727] brought from the river wrapped in moist leaves to keep them fresh.

701 The *kakaram* warrior sponsoring the raid is usually the ex-624 pedition leader or chief. There is no special title for this role, 726 beyond the usual *untsi*. There may be two war chiefs if the [554] neighborhood that has the biggest representation in the expedition is one other than the sponsor's. The war leader(s) is theoretically expected to be strictly obeyed by the other members of the party, but only for the duration of the expedition, while it is in hostile territory.

[703] Obedience, even on a war expedition, is often not as rigor-[787] ous in practice as it is in theory. Any member of the party who tells the war leader that he has "dreamed badly" and therefore would like to avoid participating in the attack, is invariably excused from such participation. In the actual attack, some of the inexperienced and less aggressive warriors are backed up by a few *kakaram* who encourage their advance forward.

701 Since the war expedition is normally composed of men 703 from a number of neighborhoods, some of whom are bound • 602 to be enemies of others, the members of the party tend to 628 be organized into a "buddy system" in which pairs of close 726 relatives "cover" one another from assassination by another expedition member. In this manner, it is possible to organize a large force despite the fact that many of its members may be enemies. This system has undoubtedly contributed to the ability of the Jívaro to ally against outside invaders in the past.